

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MAINE**

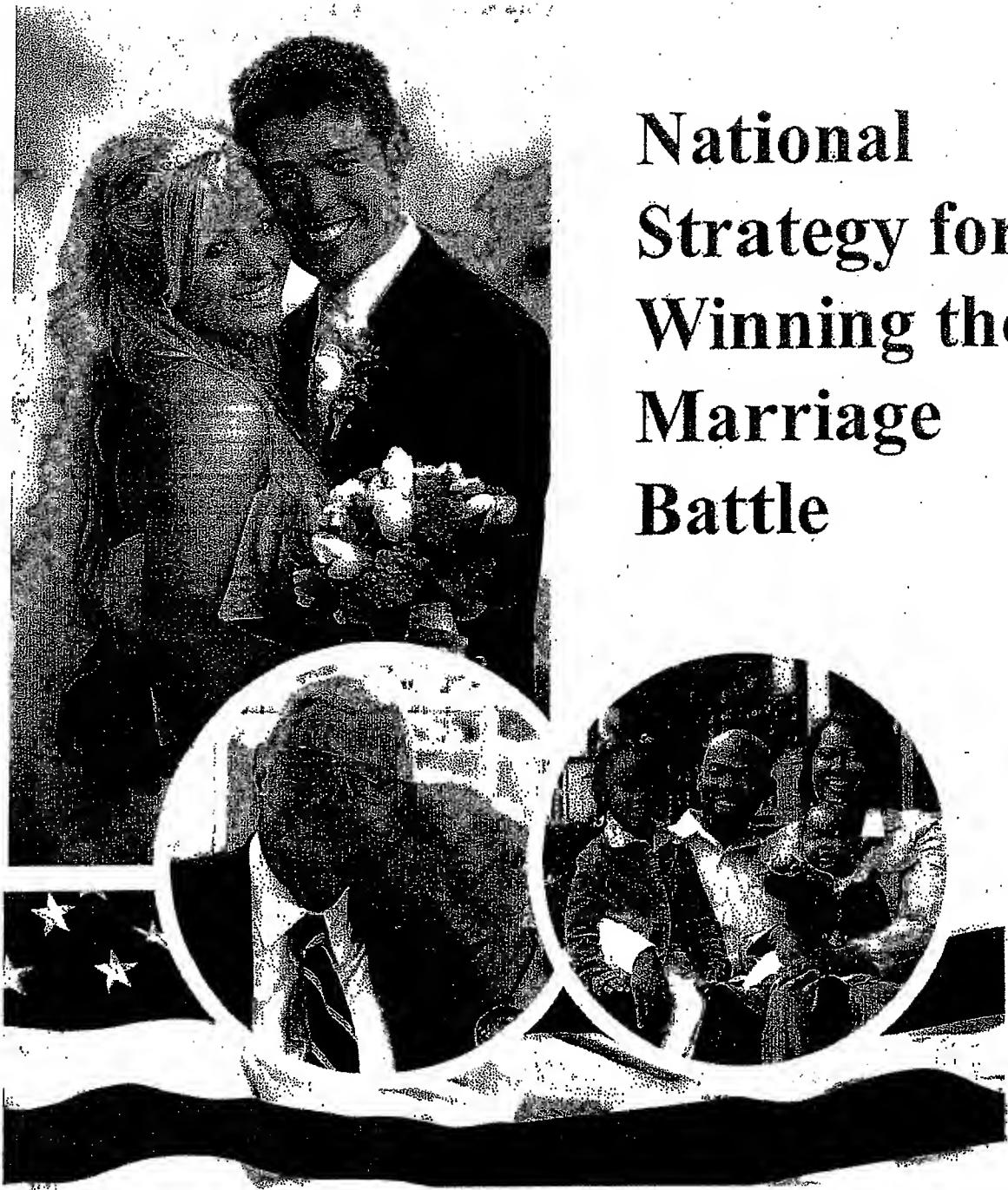
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR)
MARRIAGE and)
AMERICAN PRINCIPLES IN ACTION,)
Plaintiffs)
v.) Civil No. 1:09-cv-00538
WALTER F. MCKEE, ET AL.)
Defendants.)

NOM Deposition Exhibit 12:
"National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle,"
dated December 15, 2009

[THIS DOCUMENT WAS PREVIOUSLY FILED UNDER SEAL AS DOCKET ITEM 132-2]

NOM Deposition Exhibit 12:

**“National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle,”
dated December 15, 2009**



National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

Prepared by the National Organization for Marriage
December 15, 2009

National Organization for Marriage
Brian S. Brown, Executive Director
2029 K Street NW, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: (202) 457-8060
Email: bbrown@nationformarriage.org
www.NationForMarriage.org

CONFIDENTIAL



Table of Contents

A National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle	4
The Stakes	5
Can We Win?	5
Marriage: A Strategy for Victory	8
1. Fall 2009: Testing the Model Victories in New York, New Jersey and Maine	8
New York / New Jersey	8
Maine	9
2. 2010 Priority: Roll Back Gay Marriage in New Hampshire, Iowa and D.C.	10
New Hampshire	11
District of Columbia	11
Iowa	12
3. Going on Offense	12
The Pennsylvania and Beyond Project	13
NOM Rhode Island	13
Two Million for Marriage	15
State Emergency Reserve Fund	15
Federal Marriage Political Action Committee	16
4. The International Organization for Marriage	16
5. NOM Legal Defense Fund	17
6. Cultural Strategies	18
The Latino Project: A Pan-American Strategy.....	19
The Next Generation Leaders Project	20
"Not A Civil Right" Project	21
Expert Witness Project	22
Catholic Clergy Project	23

CONFIDENTIAL

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

Behind Enemy Lines: Document the Victims—Keeping Gay Marriage Controversial in Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut	23
The Face of the Victims: Rapid Response Video Team and Archive	24
Gay Rights or Parents' Rights? An Exploratory Project	25
Achieving NOM's \$20 Million Strategy for Victory	26
Budget & Fundraising (July 2009 to Dec. 2010)	28
\$20 Million for Marriage Fundraising Plan	29
Major Donors	30
Private Phases	31
Public Phase	31
How Can We Possibly Do All This? A Note to Donors	31
References	34

A National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

Marriage will be won or lost in the United States in the next two to three years, and victory in the United States will depend primarily on adequate resources. From a political angle, this strategy will require electing a pro-marriage president in 2012.

The National Organization for Marriage (NOM) has emerged as the national party of marriage, the only single-issue national organization making substantial investments in marriage fights in every state. Since its formation in July of 2007, NOM has helped win key victories in California, Maine, New York and New Jersey. NOM emerged as the largest single investor in Prop 8 in California, putting in key early money that helped get Prop 8 to the voters. In Maine, NOM provided more than half the budget needed to overturn gay marriage.

Since January 1, 2009, NOM's small donor base has nearly quadrupled, from 8,000 to 30,000 and its activist constituency has increased tenfold from 50,000 to over 500,000 (The goal is 50,000 donors and 2,000,000 activists by the end of 2010.)

In the United States, we've demonstrated a key fact: with adequate resources, we can win the battle for hearts and minds on the marriage issue. We can use what we've learned about winning this battle to protect marriage internationally as well.

To win the fight for marriage, NOM planned to raise over \$20 million between July 1, 2009 and the November 2010 elections. Since launching the \$20 million victory fund in July of 2009, NOM has raised (received or pledged) \$7.5 million of that \$20 million as of December 1, 2009.

The Stakes

Marriage is a cornerstone of every known civilization. High rates of family fragmentation drive enormous public costs.¹ An antifamily culture affects economic performance, expands the regulatory and taxing powers of government, and threatens the family businesses that generate economic growth and prosperity.

Gay marriage is the tip of the spear, the weapon that will be and is being used to marginalize and repress Christianity and the Church.² What does the gay marriage idea mean once government adopts it? It means faith communities that promote traditional families should be treated in law and culture like racists. It means that the authority of parents to transmit moral values to children will be eroded.

Can We Win?

The current state of despair over the future of marriage is manufactured, a weapon in our opponents' hand. Our U.S. experience is that victory is possible, even likely, provided we have the resources to fight this battle. (This is why gay marriage advocates have focused relentlessly on harassing and intimidating local donors, trying to cut off the debate by limiting resources³ and why one key advantage we now have is the capacity to protect the identity of our donors.)

The National Organization for Marriage (NOM) and our allies have won key victories both in courts of law and at the ballot box.⁴

Gay marriage has lost 31 out of 31 times when put to voters—not only in culturally and politically conservative states like Louisiana (78 to 22 percent) and Alabama (81 to 19 percent), but also in progressive, liberal states like Wisconsin (59 to 41 percent) and Oregon (57 to 43 percent).

In November of 2008 in California, one of the most liberal states in the U.S., the majority again rejected gay marriage, as did voters in Florida (62 percent to 38 percent) and Arizona (56 to 44 percent). Just this November in another liberal state, the state of Maine, voters once again rejected gay marriage, this time by a margin of 53 percent to 47 percent.

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

The latest Gallup poll shows that, more than six years after gay marriage first became a national issue, most Americans continue to oppose gay marriage (57 percent to 40 percent). By a margin of four to one, Americans are more likely to believe gay marriage will hurt our society (48 percent) than make society better off (13 percent).⁵

Despite several recent high-profile court victories, the majority of U.S. courts have rejected the idea that gay marriage is a constitutional right, including the high courts of New York (2006), Washington State (2006), New Jersey (2006) and Maryland (2007). We contributed by organizing highly respected scholars to sign onto amicus briefs supporting marriage in each of these cases, and we will continue to perform that role in the crucial same-sex marriage litigation moving forward.⁶

We have learned much about how to win the marriage battle. What we need now is to find the resources to prosecute and expand this strategy to win marriage in the U.S., and to expand it into a global movement.

Marriage: A Strategy for Victory

Our goal is to use a victory in the U.S. to launch a global movement to reverse the tide on cultural and legal respect for core family values like marriage.

Our strategy for victory includes:

1. Fall 2009: Testing the Model Victories in New York, New Jersey and Maine

New York / New Jersey

Gay marriage lost at the ballot box and in key state legislatures in the fall of 2009. NOM invested more than \$1.2 million in voter outreach in New York and New Jersey, contacting voters and asking them to call their legislators. The result was an unprecedented flood of phone calls urging legislators to vote against gay marriage. For example, Sen. Joseph Addabbo, a Democrat from Queens, told the New York Times that three-quarters of phone calls from his New York City district were from voters opposing gay marriage.⁷ Along with NOM's media campaign, and our strategic investment in a special election in New York's 23rd congressional district (where half the voters who rejected pro-gay marriage Republican Dede Scozzafava for a third-party candidate said her vote for gay marriage was a significant factor), NOM's sophisticated voter outreach produced a surprising, unexpectedly large, lopsided rejection of gay marriage in the New York Senate (38 no to 24 yes).⁸

In New Jersey, gay marriage advocates had publicly promised they would pass gay marriage in the lame duck session this fall. Yet once again, NOM helped engineer a surprisingly powerful outpouring of public objections from ordinary voters: gay marriage supporters were forced pull the bill in the Senate.⁹ Gay marriage advocates are currently seeking a way to pass the bill through the Assembly, but their prospects look dim, as of this writing.

In both states, NOM worked closely with local leaders, including the Catholic Conference and evangelical family groups who also deserve credit for the victory.

Here's the bottom line: NOM's model for influencing not only referendums but legislatures by adding sophisticated messaging and political know-how to the efforts of local groups has been tested and found to be an effective use of resources. Against every prediction, and all the conventional wisdom, marriage is winning.

In 2010, NOM will follow up on these victories by demonstrating the capacity to educate voters in New York and New Jersey in the run up to the November elections.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: New York/New Jersey--501(c)(4)	\$2,000,000
2010 Need.....	\$800,000

Maine

In November, the people of Maine decisively rejected a gay marriage bill passed by their own legislature, by a margin of 53 percent to 47 percent. Pundits were shocked, because gay marriage advocates went into this battle with extensive advantages: Maine is a relatively secular, socially liberal state with a history of successful pro-gay referenda; they had a three-year head start, investing millions in building a political machine that could both pass gay marriage and defend it at the ballot box. They had the advantage of learning the so-called lessons of California, running a strategically more competent messaging campaign. They raised substantially more money, outspending the traditionalists two to one. Maine has very few African-Americans, and the Mormon Church was not involved in any major way. And yet gay marriage advocates woke up on the Wednesday after the election to find gay marriage had lost *by an even bigger margin than in California*.

NOM was intimately involved in Maine from the beginning, helping create and manage the StandforMarriageMaine.com referendum committee, collecting twice as many signatures as necessary to get gay marriage on the ballot, and ultimately funding almost two-thirds of the campaign (\$1.8 million of the approximately \$3 million raised). The Maine victory proved critical to stopping the momentum of same-sex marriage in the Northeast. NOM had originally budgeted \$1 million for this campaign, but when fundraising from other sources failed and the campaign was faced with having to severely cut back its media buys, NOM stepped in from general revenues to provide an unbudgeted additional \$800,000. No other national organization provided anything like the financial support NOM did.

Marriage is not only NOM's highest priority, it is our only priority. Because we have no competing funding priorities, we can funnel resources as needed to win marriage fights.

The great victory in Maine punched a hole in the cultural narrative of defeatism that even too many Christians had begun to accept. It helped pave the way for a victory in New York and New Jersey, and also helps in the ongoing litigation which will end up in the Supreme Court by making ongoing public opposition to gay marriage crystal clear.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: Maine--501(c)(4).....	\$1,800,000
2010 Need.....	\$0

2. 2010 Priority: Roll Back Gay Marriage in New Hampshire, Iowa and D.C.

Beginning in 2009 and through 2012, NOM's goal is to roll back same-sex marriage where it has been imposed by courts or enacted by legislatures (Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, District of Columbia and Iowa).

New Hampshire and Iowa are the two states that have direct implications for the 2012 presidential elections, and they also happen to be the states with the greatest possibility for victory. The District of Columbia has an initiative and referendum process (similar to California and Maine) that allows for the possibility of taking the issue directly to a vote of the people (although court battles will be necessary to achieve this end—see more below). Therefore NOM's top priorities for rolling back gay marriage in 2010 will be New Hampshire, Iowa, and the District of Columbia.

A note on the strategic significance of New Hampshire and Iowa: Marriage needs to be a national (and ultimately international) effort, not just a local or regional issue. If marriage is going to be preserved as between a man and a woman in the United States, the next president must be a man or woman who expressly articulates a pro-marriage culture, and appoints sympathetic Supreme Court justices.

New Hampshire

Passage of same-sex marriage in New Hampshire has brought Democratic Governor John Lynch's election numbers down to the lowest point in his entire term. We are working with Republican Party chairman and former Governor John Sununu to implement a plan to defeat Governor Lynch and flip both houses of the legislature. Through a state political action committee, we have already helped defeat one pro-same-sex marriage candidate in a special election. We are targeting 100 House districts and 10 Senate districts. The overall budget for our part of this effort is \$2 million—\$1 million to defeat Lynch and \$1 million to flip the legislature.

In New Hampshire, if we can elect a new legislature and governor we can reverse gay marriage quickly, either directly or by a quick referral to a vote by the people in 2011.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: New Hampshire—501(c)(4)	\$2,000,000
2010 Need.....	\$1,600,000

District of Columbia

The D.C. City Council has just passed a gay marriage bill, over the objections of Archbishop Wuerl and a coalition of black pastors led by Bishop Harry Jackson. In 2009, NOM helped create and manage Stand for Marriage D.C. and brought Schubert Flint Public Affairs in to help lay the groundwork for an initiative and referendum campaign. In 2010, getting marriage to the people of D.C. will involve litigation as the first step (since the D.C. Board of Elections claims that the measure would violate the Human Rights Act, which cannot be amended by a vote of the people). The legal outcome is never certain, but our legal counsel believes our core argument (the legislature cannot by its vote overturn a right guaranteed by the original charter) is likely to prevail at the appeals level in federal court, in which case a vote to repeal gay marriage in D.C. is likely in 2010. D.C. is not a state but a city: the battle for the white vote (about 45 percent of the District) will be tougher than in Maine or California. But we will be helped by an emerging new set of genuine black leaders who are upset their voices and values have been ignored by the culturally liberal white elites.

Schubert Flint's preliminary campaign budget suggests Stand for Marriage D.C. will need to raise around \$6 million for victory. NOM will pledge to raise one-third of that budget (\$2 million).

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: District of Columbia-501(c)(4).....	\$2,000,000
2010 Need.....	\$1,000,000

Iowa

We are in the process of hiring a full-time political organizer to identify key races in Iowa, begin candidate recruitment, and to manage our overall efforts in Iowa. We know that there are key opportunities in Iowa, and have been working closely with Congressman Steve King to lay out a plan to flip the Iowa legislature. This money will be used to hire a full-time employee, set-up and administer an office, and to deal with the legal obligations in creating and administering a state political action committee.

Because gay marriage was imposed via a state supreme court decision, reversing gay marriage in Iowa will not be a quick or easy process. It will require electing a new legislature and then votes in two successive years to refer a marriage amendment to a vote of the people.

In the process however, by keeping the marriage issue front and center in Iowa politics, we will influence the 2012 presidential campaign indirectly, and emerge with important political assets that will serve candidates who articulate a strong marriage message.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: New Hampshire-501(c)(4).....	\$1,000,000
2010 Need.....	\$700,000

3. Going on Offense

One of the strategic challenges NOM has faced is that we are playing on our opponents' home turf, fighting back efforts to impose gay marriage and striving to protect religious liberty in blue states.

We have managed to expand our donor and activist base rapidly in spite of the fact that our core activities have been in liberal states. But a strategic goal of NOM is to break out of this cycle, building the organization, expanding our donor base, and energizing our grassroots by pushing for marriage amendments in red and purple states, including Pennsylvania, North Carolina, West Virginia and Indiana.

The Pennsylvania and Beyond Project

Local pro-marriage groups in states like Pennsylvania have relied on diffuse public opinion rather than sophisticated political organizing to push marriage amendments in these states. To add political muscle to our movement, NOM works with local groups while using sophisticated technology to reach out to voters; supplemented by persuasive radio, TV, and internet advertising to (a) identify the marriage voters for future electoral purposes, (b) generate phone calls to legislators from constituents, and (c) fundraise. In North Carolina, we will use a marriage amendment to identify our voters throughout the state, not only to push a marriage amendment, but to permit us to turn out our voters for the judicial elections there in 2010. Opportunities to push marriage amendments may also arise in states like West Virginia and Indiana, where politicians have been blocking marriage amendments from getting to the ballot.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: Pennsylvania & Beyond-501(c)(4) ... \$1,500,000
2010 Need.....\$1,000,000

NOM Rhode Island

NOM has a unique investment in Rhode Island. Thanks to strong support from an impressive network of local leaders, NOM has formed its first truly functioning state chapter. (In most states, NOM acts from and out of the national office, serving as a liaison with independent local groups).

Under the capable leadership of NOM Rhode Island's executive director Chris Plante (and with an impressive advisory board that includes Dr. David Carlin, a professor at CCRI-Newport and the former senate majority leader in Rhode Island, Providence Bishop Thomas Tobin, noted prolife "super lawyer" Joseph Cavanaugh, pediatrician Michelle Cretella, former president of the Rhode Island Psychiatric Society Daniel Harrop, and Brown University Professor Ralph Miech), NOM Rhode Island achievements include stopping four bills that would have either directly legalized homosexual marriage in the state or paved the way for its introduction through judicial decrees.

In 2009, NOM Rhode Island has succeeded in building effective coalitions and partnerships. In August, NOM Rhode Island hosted the First Annual "Celebrate Marriage and Family Day" which was attended by over 800 people. NOM Rhode Island has strengthened its relationship with the Diocese of Providence on many levels, including partnering with the Human Life Guild to bring marriage education to the Diocesan High Schools around Rhode Island.

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

Through its Advisory Board, NOM Rhode Island has also made significant progress in mobilizing Evangelical congregations in Rhode Island and Southeastern Massachusetts. Finally, the fourth quarter of 2009 witnessed the development of a working partnership between NOM Rhode Island and national organizations including the Family Research Council and the Alliance Defense Fund.

With the legislative success from the 2009 legislative session and these strong and effective partnerships, as well as with the national momentum to protect marriage, NOM Rhode Island is well positioned for the 2010 legislative session and election cycle.

Gay marriage advocates are waiting until 2011, after the retirement of Gov. Don Carcieri, before pushing a gay marriage bill in Rhode Island. NOM Rhode Island plans to organize an effective donor/activist base, using the successful New Jersey/New York model, to be in a strong position to fight gay marriage.

In addition to opposing legislative attacks on marriage and family during 2010, NOM Rhode Island expects to be positive and proactive in at least two ways. First, we will introduce and support legislation to authorize a Constitutional Amendment to define marriage as between one man and one woman. Second, NOM Rhode Island hopes to introduce divorce reform legislation in an effort to strengthen Rhode Island's marriages and families.

The 2010 election cycle will be crucial in defending marriage in the long-term in Rhode Island. Through its Political Action Committee and (c)(4) arms, NOM Rhode Island plans to take at least three seats in the RI House of Representatives from homosexual-marriage supporters, while protecting marriage's champions. At the same time, early rumors indicate that up to ten seats in the House will be vacant in November 2010. This provides supporters of marriage and family an unprecedented opportunity to protect these institutions for the foreseeable future.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: NOM Rhode Island--501(c)(4)	\$225,000
2010 Need.....	\$225,000

CONFIDENTIAL

Two Million for Marriage

The goal of the Two Million for Marriage effort is to use the Obama administration's priority of the repeal of DOMA to rally a nationwide donor and activist base, recruiting two million activists and 50,000 donors by the election of 2010. We have already launched a \$1 million e-mail, direct mail, and automated call campaign and have gained over 500,000 activists and roughly 20,000 new donors in our first few months of this effort. Senator Rick Santorum has served as the face of this effort through e-mail and direct mail. Senator Santorum has recently agreed to use his voice in a nationwide automated call effort to solicit activists and donations. An additional \$2 million will allow us to reach our goal of two million activists and an additional 20,000 donors by March of 2010—well before our own timetable of the election of 2010.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: Two Million for Marriage--501(c)(4)...	\$3,000,000
2010 Need.....	\$2,000,000

State Emergency Reserve Fund

We have to be ready for a decisive, rapid and effective response in whatever states gay marriage advocates decide to act to push gay marriage. Such a state emergency fund will also act as a discouragement to politicians tempted by their base to push this divisive issue on their constituents.

Given the threats of intimidation to donors who support marriage in California and nationwide, we face a serious hurdle in getting state ballot initiatives and candidate campaigns funded because donors must be disclosed. However, if NOM makes a contribution from its own resources that are not specifically designated for one of these efforts donor identities are NOT disclosed. It is critical that we have a reserve fund to give to these efforts to ensure victory and protect donor identity. Our goal is to raise \$2 million for this reserve fund before the 2010 elections.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: State Emergency Fund—501(c)(4)	\$2,000,000
2010 Need.....	\$1,500,000

Federal Marriage Political Action Committee

As we build assets in specific states (identifying marriage voters, activists and small donors) we want to direct these assets to electing pro-marriage legislators in Congress. A Federal Marriage Political Action Committee (PAC) will help us block the repeal of the Defense of Marriage Act, influence Supreme Court nominations, and promote a federal marriage amendment. We will be launching a federal PAC in the spring of 2010.

Building a network of regional political directors will help us identify and recruit candidates. Politically significant states (besides New Hampshire and Iowa) in Senate and presidential politics include: South Carolina, Florida, Ohio, Minnesota, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Nevada, Connecticut, New Mexico, Nevada, Colorado, and Michigan.

Because of NOM's unique structure, we can spend unlimited funds through our 501(c)(4) toward promoting the PAC to our current (30,000) financial supporters.

NOM 2009-2010 Budget: Federal Marriage PAC--501(c)(4)	\$1,000,000
2010 Need	\$750,000

4. The International Organization for Marriage

The movement for gay marriage is global. The counterrevolution protecting marriage needs to have a similar international reach. We need to take what we have learned about winning marriage battles in the U.S. and assist groups fighting marriage battles in other nations.

NOM has been approached by leaders in Mexico, Argentina, and Ireland (for example) for assistance in fighting gay marriage battles. We are investing resources now in exploring the legal and technological infrastructures needed to export NOM's successful model to other countries. Expenditures in other countries will have to come from international donors. NOM's money from U.S. donors will remain fully committed to NOM's national battles.

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

The goal is to inexpensively leverage the hard-fought knowledge, techniques, experts, messaging, and other resources learned in U.S. victories to build a truly global counterrevolution on marriage.

A very small budget item (for proper legal advice) will create new global possibilities. As interested donors are identified in relevant countries, this budget could expand.

International 2009-2010 Budget 501(c)(4)	\$25,000
Legal	\$15,000
Travel	\$5,000
Translation of Key Documents	\$5,000

5. NOM Legal Defense Fund

NOM's successful efforts make ballot box and legislative victories more and more remote for "gay marriage" advocates. Once again they are turning to courts to impose their will. NOM has been asked to help fundraise for the costs of legally protecting the political victories we have helped win with these constitutional marriage amendments. Before us right now is the expensive litigation over Prop 8 itself (*Perry v Schwarzenegger*). The leadership of the Proposition 8 Legal Defense Fund and the California Catholic Conference has asked us to help. This may be the foundational case for protecting traditional marriage at the U.S. Supreme Court. NOM is also a client in federal litigation to protect the rights of donors in Prop 8 (*ProtectMarriage.com v. Bowen*), as well as Maine (*National Organization for Marriage v. McKee*) and elsewhere.

NOM's goal in 2010 is to raise \$3 million for the NOM Legal Defense Fund. These funds will be turned directly over to the key legal fights for marriage and donor privacy in California and elsewhere.

2010 Budget: Legal Defense Fund.....	\$3,000,000
---	--------------------

6. Cultural Strategies

Grassroots activism which can generate real political impact is an important "missing ingredient" among social conservatives generally and on the marriage issue particularly. Building such a capacity is a key part of NOM's strategy for victory.

But to win the marriage debate will require more: innovative cultural strategies to hold and expand our base of committed marriage supporters—especially among influential elites and the next generation.

NOM's cultural strategy has a special focus on the next generation. We understand that the transmission of basic moral values across generations involves more than rational argument, especially in an age where the market, academia, media and Hollywood conspire to present intellectually shallow but emotionally appealing arguments and images for gay marriage.

Values and character are transmitted through the related processes of emotional engagement and identity formation, as well as rational argument. People ask not only, "What do I cognitively believe about right and wrong?" but also "Whom do I aspire to be like?" "What and who makes me feel good about the Good?"

Reason influences emotional commitments, but emotional commitments give rise to rationalizations as well. People avoid adopting views that strike them as painful and are attracted to adopting reasons for views that provide emotional satisfaction.

We also recognize that reason influences people not only directly (through the power of argument), but indirectly, through the social prestige attached to intelligence and to intellectual elites. The good and the true and the beautiful each have their power, and that power is greatest and most persuasive when they are made mutually reinforcing.

NOM's ambitious cultural strategies project aims at influencing, sustaining, reinforcing and expanding these basic processes implicated in character formation, with special attention to identity and emotional impact. We are looking for a new set of messengers and a new, more emotionally powerful set of messages on the marriage issue: Whom will I hurt if I abandon marriage? For whom am I standing in standing for marriage?

Here's the bottom line: Hollywood with its cultural biases is far bigger than we can hope to be. We recognize this. But we also recognize the opportunity—the disproportionate potential impact of proactively seeking to gather and connect a community of artists, athletes, writers, beauty queens and other glamorous noncognitive elites across national boundaries. When people are isolated they are silent and ineffectual; in community they gather courage and also give courage (by being visible to others). Precisely because Hollywood is currently so massively biased, there is an opportunity for a small countercultural community to have a disproportionate cultural impact.

The Latino Project: A Pan-American Strategy

The Latino vote in America is a key swing vote, and will be even more so in the future because of demographic growth. Will the process of assimilation to the dominant Anglo culture lead Hispanics to abandon traditional family values? We can interrupt this process of assimilation by making support for marriage a key badge of Latino identity.

We aim to identify young Latino and Latina leaders, especially artists, actors, musicians, athletes, writers, and other celebrities willing to stand for marriage, regardless of national boundaries. (For example: Eduardo Verástegui, the young actor who starred in *Bella*, has come to us offering to be a major spokesperson on marriage; we have also met with a former Miss Mexico in preliminary work on this project.) Here's our insight: The number of "glamorous" people willing to buck the powerful forces to speak for marriage may be small in any one country. But by searching for these leaders across national boundaries we will assemble a community of next generation Latino leaders that Hispanics and other next generation elites in this country can aspire to be like. (As "ethnic rebels" such spokespeople will also have an appeal across racial lines, especially to young urbans in America).

With the help of Schubert Flint Public Affairs, we will develop Spanish language radio and TV ads, as well as pamphlets, YouTube videos, and church handouts and popular songs. Our ultimate goal is to make opposition to gay marriage an identity marker, a badge of youth rebellion to conformist assimilation to the bad side of "Anglo" culture.

Latino Project 2010 Budget: \$1 million

Hispanic Outreach coordinator [\$75k plus benefits].....	\$90,000
Travel budget for coordinator.....	\$35,000
Radio and TV ad development (Schubert Flint)	\$40,000
Radio and TV Production	\$50,000
Spanish radio and TV ads	\$500,000
YouTube productions/viral marketing outreach	\$50,000
PR Outreach to Hispanic TV, radio, print and online publications [3-4 months @ \$10k/month	\$35,000
Hispanic outreach for Ruth Institute and Love and Fidelity next generation leaders conferences (scholarships to conference, travel by conference organizers to meet with leaders).....	\$50,000
Phone outreach (robocalling) to Latino zip codes	\$75,000
Direct mail and email outreach	\$75,000
SUBTOTAL	\$1,000,000

The Next Generation Leaders Project

By conducting student conferences, speakers and debates, we aim to find, train, and equip young leaders on the marriage issue at Ivy League and equivalent universities. NOM has launched the Ruth Institute for this purpose and is working with the Love and Fidelity Network to replicate the success of the Anscombe Model on the Princeton Campus at other Ivy League schools.

The Ruth Institute, an arm of NOM headed by Dr. Jennifer Roback Morse, will sponsor two to three next generation leaders training sessions on marriage each year. (The first such prototype conference was held August 6 in San Diego.)

Love and Fidelity Network, centered at Princeton, is building a network of chastity-supportive organizations at Ivy League colleges. The centerpiece of LFN's networks is an annual student conference that draws 200 to 300 leaders from Ivy League and equivalent universities. NOM will "piggyback" on these existing conferences (and search for other similar venues) to identify, train, and equip next generation leaders on marriage, including media training.

But in keeping with the aims of the Cultural Strategies Project we will not confine our mission to attract and cultivate a community of cognitive elites alone. Through the Love and Fidelity Film Festival and YouTube and Song contest, we will seek to identify a next generation of elites capable of creating pro-marriage culture more broadly construed.

Next Generation 2010 Budget: \$300,000 million

Two student conferences with Ruth Institute [\$30k each conference]	\$60,000
Marriage and media training at Love and Fidelity Network conferences	\$25,000
Love and Fidelity ad contest (YouTube and poster)	\$20,000
Love and Fidelity YouTube, Film and Song Festival and Contest ..	\$100,000
Website maintenance, email outreach to college students	\$50,000
NOM youth coordinator [\$35k plus benefits]	\$45,000
SUBTOTAL	\$300,000

"Not A Civil Right" Project

The majority of African-Americans, like the majority of Americans, oppose gay marriage, but Democratic power bosses are increasingly inclined to privilege the concerns of gay rights groups over the values of African-Americans. A strategic goal of this project is to amplify the voice and the power of black Americans within the Democratic Party.

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

We aim to find, equip, energize and connect African-American spokespeople for marriage; to develop a media campaign around their objections to gay marriage as a civil right. No politician wants to take up and push an issue that splits the base of the party.

"Not A Civil Right" 2010 Budget: \$1 million

Radio and TV ad production.....	\$100,000
Media buys / direct outreach (targeted radio/TV ads and robocalling in black neighborhoods in NJ, NY, North Carolina, and other key battlegrounds).....	\$700,000
African-American outreach to next-generation leaders conferences (scholarships to conference, travel by conference organizers to meet with leaders)	\$50,000
Black bloggers project. George Soros led the way in using small amounts of money to shape the discourse on the internet.....	\$60,000
NOM African-American outreach coordinator/spokesperson [\$75k plus benefits].....	\$90,000
SUBTOTAL	\$1,000,000

Expert Witness Project

Identify and nurture a worldwide community of highly credentialed intellectuals and professional scholars, physicians, psychiatrists, social workers, and writers to credential our concerns and to interrupt the silencing that takes place in the academy around gay marriage and related family issues. Marriage as the union of husband and wife has deep grounding in human nature, and is supported by serious social science.

Expert Witness Project 2010 Budget: \$50,000

CONFIDENTIAL

Catholic Clergy Project

All clergy are key influencers on gay marriage, but Catholics are a key swing vote and Catholic clergy are notoriously difficult to personally reach. The Catholic Clergy Project aims to use NOM's close relationships with Catholic bishops to equip, energize and moralize Catholic priests on the marriage issue. NOM has provided this service to bishops in New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Iowa, and Kansas to date.

Catholic Clergy Project 2010 Budget: \$50,000

10 clergy seminars in 2010 [10 seminars @ \$5,000 each]	\$50,000
SUBTOTAL	\$50,000

Behind Enemy Lines: Document the Victims—Keeping Gay Marriage Controversial in Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut

Document the consequences of gay marriage and develop an effective culture of resistance. Polling data in Massachusetts indicate that six years after courts imposed gay marriage, public opposition to gay marriage remains surprisingly strong. It is also, however, very quiet, in part because people fear retaliation and harassment if they speak up for traditional marriage ideas. (In a recent poll 36 percent of people who oppose gay marriage agreed that "if you speak out against gay marriage in Massachusetts you really have to watch your back because some people may try to hurt you."¹⁰)

Fund a low-cost media campaign (primarily billboards) to support the idea that children need mothers and fathers and to highlight threats and promise support to any citizens attacked for their pro-marriage views; commission polling and other studies to document consequences of gay marriage; and gather a rapid-response team of videographers and reporters to collect and record stories of those who have been harassed, threatened or intimidated as a result of their support for traditional views on marriage and sexuality across the country and also in Europe and abroad.

Behind Enemy Lines 2010 Budget: \$300,000

Polling for intimidation effect in gay marriage/civil union regimes [\$10k each poll x 6 polls]	\$60,000
Study of what schools are teaching in gay marriage/civil union regimes [\$25k each x 4 states/regions].....	\$100,000
PR to maximize polling/studies impact [6 months x \$15k/month]	\$90,000
Billboards and radio media campaign [\$50k/year]	\$50,000
SUBTOTAL	\$300,000

The Face of the Victims: Rapid Response Video Team and Archive

Who is hurt by gay marriage? The rapid response video project would aim to put an emotionally compelling face on the answer to this question.

When the government punishes some Methodists because they don't allow gay union ceremonies on their own property, we need to capture not only the facts, but the stories—the faces, the names, the emotions of the people threatened with litigation.

When a young Michigan grad students gets kicked out of her school program a few weeks before graduation (as happened this past spring) because she won't personally counsel a gay couple on how they can keep their relationship together, we need more than her story—we need her face, her voice, her outrage and her suffering on camera.

When a young Hispanic mother discovers in New Jersey what her first grader is being taught about gay marriage, how does the school counselor respond to her concerns? We need to get her on camera, telling the story of what gay marriage really means.

NOM's rapid response team takes the "document the victims" project national, giving us the capacity to capture the oppression of people's rights, the disregard of their feelings and interests, on video, as it happens, in real time.

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

NOM will contract with a firm (most likely Syndicate Pictures out of Philadelphia) to have a team on retainer ready to fly out at short notice when news stories like these (most of which never hit the national media) occur.

The Face of the Victims Project 2010 Budget: \$150,000

10 videos [\$5000 each]	\$50,000
Viral marketing of these videos for fundraising, activist and youth messaging purposes.....	\$55,000
Professional PR for print/media outreach [3 months @ \$15k/month)	\$45,000
SUBTOTAL	\$150,000

Gay Rights or Parents' Rights? An Exploratory Project

Building on our “behind enemy lines” and “face of the victim” projects, NOM will inaugurate a special effort to focus on the consequences of gay marriage for parental rights.

Gay Rights or Parents' Rights Project 2010 Budget: \$150,000

Study what schools are teaching on gay marriage in MA, VT And CT [covered above – Behind Enemy Lines project]	\$0
Voices of parents with public school children [covered above – Face of the Victims project].....	\$0
Polling on parents concerns [1 national poll and 4 state polls].....	\$60,000
Children of same-sex couples and their concerns—outreach coordinator to identify children of gay parents willing to speak on camera [\$50k plus benefits].....	\$60,000
Professional PR for print/media outreach [2 months @ \$15k/month)	\$30,000
SUBTOTAL	\$150,000

Achieving NOM's \$20 Million Strategy for Victory

In the little over two years since NOM was founded, it has grown to over 30,000 members with an annual operating budget of approximately \$10 million dollars in 2009. We have leveraged our limited resources to win major victories—most visibly in California and Maine—but also in New York, New Jersey, Arizona and Florida. Yet in the legislative and cultural battles that confront us we are being heavily outspent—and without greater resources we risk losing marriage on these key battlefronts.

The disparity of resources is overwhelming and clear. The Human Rights Campaign alone, our leading national opposition group, has an annual budget of over \$40 million. The Gill Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization, has an annual budget approaching \$20 million, and the Gill Action Fund adds \$10-\$15 million more each year in (c)(4) money.

In addition, supporters of same-sex marriage have a multiplicity of smaller organizations funding their efforts on the political level, whereas NOM is the only promarriage organization creating and sustaining political action committees at the state level. We will be launching a federal political action committee in the spring of 2010.

Yet, the nearly \$40 million donated to the Proposition 8 effort last year clearly shows that our donors can be motivated to raise large sums of money if the proper plan is put in place.

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

Budget & Fundraising (July 2009 to Dec. 2010)

Project	Overall Budget	2009 Expenditures	2010 Funds Allocated	Remaining 2010 Needs
New York / New Jersey – 501(c)(4)	\$2,000,000	\$1,200,000	\$0	\$800,000
Maine – 501(c)(4)	1,800,000	1,800,000	0	0
New Hampshire – 501(c)(4)	2,000,000	200,000	200,000	1,600,000
District of Columbia – 501(c)(4)	2,600,000		1,000,000	1,600,000
Iowa – 501(c)(4)	1,000,000		300,000	700,000
Pennsylvania & Beyond – 501(c)(4)	1,500,000		500,000	1,000,000
NOM Rhode Island – 501(c)(4)	225,000		0	225,000
Two Million for Marriage – 501(c)(4)	3,000,000	1,000,000	0	2,000,000
State Emergency Fund – 501(c)(4)	2,000,000		500,000	1,500,000
Federal Marriage PAC – 501(c)(4)	1,000,000	250,000	250,000	750,000
International Organization for Marriage	25,000		0	25,000
NOM Legal Defense Fund	3,000,000		0	3,000,000
Cultural Strategies	3,000,000		500,000	2,500,000
TOTAL	\$22,550,000	\$4,200,000	\$3,250,000	\$15,100,000

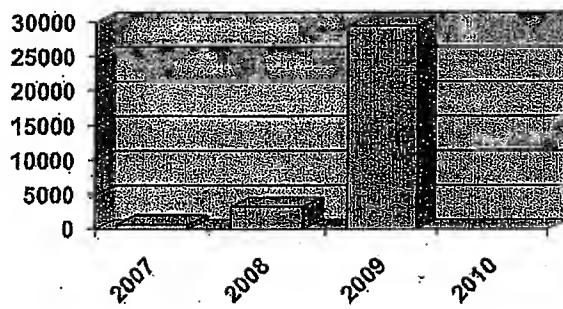
\$20 Million for Marriage Fundraising Plan

We have hired Steve Linder, the Finance Director for the Proposition 8 effort, to help manage the fundraising for our \$20 million campaign.

Luis Tellez, Brian Brown, Maggie Gallagher, and Steve Linder will serve on the fundraising committee.

NOM's growth over just the past two years can be seen below:

NOM Donor Growth (2007-2009)



	2007 (July - Dec)	2008	2009
Total Donors (cumulative)	658	3,251	29,527

Major Donors

NOM currently has 66 major donors contributing more than \$5,000, including 30 donors at the \$25,000 level, 11 donors at the \$100,000 level, and 3 donors at the \$1 million level.

	\$5,000+	\$25,000+	\$100,000+	\$1,000,000
NOM Major Donors	66	30	11	3

For the campaign, we have a three-stage plan to reach our goal of \$20 million by the end of 2010. We have already cleared the initial phase. Our goal was to raise at least \$5 million from a small group of our largest donors. That accomplished, we planned to use that momentum to motivate and move our donors to increase their past giving to help raise an additional \$5 million.

As with a traditional capital campaign, we have initially focused on our largest supporters to get us the seed money necessary to encourage our other major donors to step up to the plate.

We have now raised a total of \$7.5 million from our largest supporters, surpassing our \$5 million goal, and putting us in an excellent position as we begin Phase 2 of the fundraising plan. Having crossed the \$5 million threshold we now turn our focus to supporters whose past giving indicates that they can make a \$100,000 plus gift.

We have identified 36 such individuals or foundations. Some of these individuals may do significantly more or less than this goal, but conservatively, we believe we can raise at least \$3 million by March 31 from these larger donors.

We will also focus on the 65 donors we have identified as possibly giving \$50,000 or larger gift. We believe we can raise an additional \$2 million from this group by the end of March.

Once we hit the \$10 million mark we will go public with the fundraising for the effort at the end of March 2010. We will then focus our efforts on a major donor direct mail effort that announces us clearing the \$10 million hurdle and asks for larger gifts from our \$500-\$5,000 donors.

Private Phases

Phase 1 Goal: \$5,000,000—Completion Date: January 1, 2010

Phase 2 Goal: \$10,000,000—Completion Date: April 1, 2010

Public Phase

Phase 3 Goal: To \$20,000,000—Completion Date: December 31, 2010

How Can We Possibly Do All This? A Note to Donors

At NOM, we quickly learned that we cannot in the course of just a few years match the network of organizations the gay rights movement has built up over 30 years brick for brick, employee for employee, or dollar for dollar. The top ten gay rights organizations have \$200 million in annual revenues—plus inestimable advantages in media and entertainment and academia.

To expand rapidly to meet the urgent need, NOM has adopted two complementary strategies: First, NOM is partnering with “sister organizations” with whom we have strong personal and mission relationships to extend the impact of what NOM can do directly. (Love and Fidelity Network and Ruth Institute are examples.)

Second, NOM has adopted an outsourcing model that allows us to use high-level talent from around the country as needed, rather than build a large, expensive, difficult-to-manage, “tank” in-house. We have developed ongoing relationships with some of the best contractors in the country who are committed to NOM’s mission to do many of the projects outlined, working under our leadership, mission focus, and accumulating messaging expertise. This allows us to expand rapidly to meet mission objectives while “outsourcing” certain management headaches (like hiring junior staffers).

For example: Our PR needs are served by Creative Response Concepts, considered the premier conservative PR firm in the country. Their services can be expanded or shrunk on short notice to cope with mission needs.

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

Our television and radio ads are developed by the team of Schubert Flint Public Affairs, campaign managers for Prop 8. They also handle ad placement, and offer strategic and political insight and serve as our national campaign managers. We can use this team for direct political advocacy, for 501(c)(4) lobbying ads, and for 501(c)(3) public education media messaging.

Frank Cannon and Jeff Bell of Capital City Partners in Washington, D.C. help us coordinate our national strategy.

Gabe Joseph's firm, ccAdvertising, handles robocalling and also the live caller solicitation. He expands and manages staff to deliver for us on relatively short notice in different states, depending on the volume of calls we need placed.

At NOM, we have worked hard to find innovative ways to expand capacity while capitalizing on our core strategic asset: a brilliant, creative, in-house team of extremely mission-focused experts who can spot opportunity, develop innovative strategies to advance the mission, and create a "feedback" information loop that allows us to learn from failure as well as expand on our successes.

Contributions or gifts to the National Organization for Marriage, a 501(c)(4) organization with QNC status, are not tax-deductible. The National Organization for Marriage does not accept contributions from business corporations, labor unions, foreign nationals, or federal contractors; however, it may accept contributions from federally registered political action committees. Donations may be used for political purposes such as supporting or opposing candidates. No funds will be earmarked or reserved for any political purpose.

References

¹ See Benjamin Scafidi, *The Taxpayer Costs of Divorce and Unwed Childbearing* (New York: Institute for American Values, 2008).

² See, e.g., Letter dated April 20, 2009 from Professor Thomas Berg (Univ. of St. Thomas Law), Professor Carl Esbeck (Univ. of Missouri Law), Professor Robin Fretwell Wilson (Washington & Lee Univ. School of Law), and Professor Richard W. Garnett (Notre Dame Law) to Speaker Christopher Donovan, Connecticut House of Representatives (available at <http://mirrorofjustice.blogs.com/files/letter-to-rep.-donovan-re-bill-899-04-20-09.pdf>); Douglas Laycock, et al., eds., *Same-Sex Marriage and Religious Liberty: Emerging Conflicts* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008); Maggie Gallagher, Banned in Boston: The Coming Conflict Between Same-Sex Marriage and Religious Liberty, *The Weekly Standard*, May 16, 2006.

³ See, e.g., Rebecca Cathcart, Donation to Same-Sex Marriage Foes Brings Boycott Calls, *The New York Times*, July 17, 2008, at A15; Tami Abdollah & Cara Mia DiMassa, Prop 8 Foes Shift Attention; The Initiatives Backers Strongly Object to the New Focus on Boycotts, *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 2008, at A1; Jesse McKinley, Theater Director Resigns Amid Gay-Rights Ire, *The New York Times*, November 13, 2008, at C1; Jennifer Garza, Prop 8 Opponents Target Supporters, *The Oregonian*, November 13, 2008; Valerie Richardson, California Prop 8 Donors Sue for Privacy; Harassment Cited in Case on Campaign Rules, *Washington Times*, March 23, 2009, at A1.

⁴ NOM's initial entry into state-level marriage debate was in the 2007 New Jersey state races, where NOM helped to elect two pro-marriage state legislators, and was credited with helping to make same-sex marriage too controversial to be taken up by the lame duck legislature. See NJ Lawmakers Urged to Move on Gay Marriage Bill, 365Gay.com, January 10, 2008; Geoff Mulvihill, Gay Marriage Debate Intensifies as Conservatives Get Organized, Associated Press, Dec. 15, 2008.

NOM also played a key role in California's Prop. 8 campaign, initially helping to get the measure on the ballot and eventually becoming the largest single donor to the Prop 8 campaign. Geoff Mulvihill, NJ Group Makes Waves in Calif. Gay Marriage Debate, *Newsday*, July 27, 2008; Tasmin Shamma, Princeton-Based Nonprofit was the Top Donor to Fight Prop 8, *Daily Princetonian*, November 19, 2008.

This spring, NOM launched its 2009 Northeast Action Plan, aimed at organizing opposition to same-sex marriage throughout the Northeast U.S. Despite the recent entry onto the state political scene in these states, NOM has worked closely with state groups to fund robocalls, polling, and grassroots organizing activities. See, e.g., Jeremy W. Peters, Group Begins Ad Blitz Against Same-Sex Marriage, *The New York Times*, May 28, 2009, at A22.

Dovetailing with the state efforts is a \$1.5 million national media campaign aimed at drawing attention to the consequences of same-sex marriage, as people of faith are increasingly denounced as bigots simply because they stand up for marriage. Already, hundreds of thousands of people have seen our ads on YouTube, with millions more watching the national TV coverage generated by our ad campaign. See, e.g., NBC Today Show, Carrie Prejean Speaks About Same-Sex Marriage, April 30, 2009; CNN.com, Miss California USA to Appear in Conservative TV Ad, April 30, 2009; Valerie Richardson, Finding Her New Cause, Prejean Promotes Marriage, *Washington Times*, April 29, 2009, at A18.

⁵ See Jeffrey M. Jones, Majority of Americans Continue to Oppose Gay Marriage, Gallup Poll, May 27, 2009, available at <http://www.gallup.com/poll/118378/Majority-Americans-Continue-Oppose-Gay-Marriage.aspx>.

⁶ See Anemona Hartocollis, "New York's Highest Court to Rule on Gay Marriages," *The New York Times*, July 4, 2006 (discussing the friend of the court brief that we filed in New York on behalf of James Q. Wilson and thirteen other prominent scholars). Several of the briefs that we prepared and filed are available at www.domawatch.org. See also, *Marriage and the Public Good: Ten Principles* (Princeton, NJ: The Witherspoon Institute, 2006), available at www.princetonprinciples.com.

⁷ Jeremy W. Peters, "Paterson Sidelined in Push for Same-Sex Marriage," *The New York Times*, December 4, 2009, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/04/nyregion/04marriage.html>.

⁸ Karl Vick, "Gay Marriage Bill Suffers a Decisive Defeat in N.Y. State Senate," *Washington Post*, December 3, 2009, at A09.

"Opponents of gay marriage celebrated a decisive vote in the New York State Senate, where a proposal to legalize same-sex marriage was defeated 38 to 24 on Wednesday.

The unexpectedly wide margin was delivered in a relatively liberal state where the other chamber of the legislature has thrice approved the measure and the governor, David A. Paterson, had been poised to sign it into law. The vote prompted pronouncements that the momentum for gay marriage had been not only halted, but also effectively reversed. Same-sex marriage is legal in Iowa, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and, most recently, New Hampshire, where it goes into effect Jan. 1.

"I think you put it all together and it most likely spells the end of the idea that you can pass gay marriage democratically anywhere else in the United States," said Maggie Gallagher, president of the National Organization for Marriage, which spearheaded opposition in Albany. "I think the gay marriage lobby will have to go back to a court-based approach."

⁹ James Ahearn, Same-Sex Marriage is Likely Over, *The Bergen Record*, December 16, 2009 ("Legislation authorizing same-sex marriages in New Jersey has stalled in Trenton and is unlikely to pass. The vote by a Senate committee last week to release the bill for a floor vote may be as far as it can go. Its chances in the full chamber were so dim that two days later the chief sponsors of the bill withdrew it, before a scheduled vote could take place.").

¹⁰ 2009 NOM Massachusetts Marriage Survey, Five Years After Goodridge: Gay Marriage Divides Massachusetts Voters, May 17, 2009, available at www.nationformarriage.org.

National Strategy for Winning the Marriage Battle

Maine Marriage Referendum Campaign Budget

November, 2009 Election

Draft 6 - August 1, 2009

Recommended Media Levels

BASE BUDGET	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	Total
1 Signature Gathering	\$50,000	\$135,000	\$100,000					\$285,000
Office/Administration								
2 Phone/Fax	250	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,000	11,250
3 Shipping/Printing/Copies	250	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,000	8,750
4 Travel - Consultants	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	1,500	19,500
5 Travel - In State	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	1,500	14,000
6 Campaign Office	3,500	1,750	1,750	1,750	1,750	1,750	1,000	11,500
7 Campaign Chair (Marc Mutty)	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	15,000
8 Deputy Director (Mary Conroy)	5,455	5,455	5,455	5,455	5,455	5,455	2,725	30,000
9 Evangelical Pastor Relmb. (Emrich)	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	15,000
10 Admin Staff (Chris)	0	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	600	6,600
Subtotal, Office	\$3,500	\$24,155	\$22,405	\$22,405	\$22,405	\$22,405	\$14,325	\$131,600
Voter Research								
11 Segmentation Study			55,670					55,670
12 Interactive Audience Response Tests (2)				38,350				38,350
13 Strategy Refinement Survey					26,500			26,500
14 Tracking Surveys			6,000	6,000	13,500	58,500	4,500	76,500
15 Gary Lawrence Consulting					6,000	6,000		24,000
Subtotal, Research	\$0	\$0	\$61,670	\$44,350	\$46,000	\$64,500	\$4,500	\$221,020
16 Issue Consulting	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$0	\$0	\$10,000
Grassroots								
17 Website		12,500	12,500	12,500	12,500	5,000	5,000	60,000
18 Collateral	0	0	75,000	50,000	50,000			175,000
19 Grassroots Director (Ryan Hamdan)	0	0	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	1,000	13,000
20 Field Coordinators (2)				5,000	5,000	5,000	2,000	17,000
Subtotal, Grassroots	\$0	\$12,500	\$90,500	\$70,500	\$70,500	\$13,000	\$8,000	\$265,000
Earned Media								
21 Conferences/Events			1,500	0	1,500	100,000		103,000
22 Communications Director (Scott Fish)			6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	1,000	25,000
Subtotal, Earned Media	\$0	\$0	\$7,500	\$6,000	\$7,500	\$106,000	\$1,000	\$128,000
Campaign Management								
23 SFPA	10,000	20,000	20,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	15,000	155,000
Subtotal, Campaign Management	\$10,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$15,000	\$145,000
24 Legal	\$0	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$21,000
25 Accounting	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$7,500	\$7,500	\$7,500	\$10,000	\$42,500
Fundraising								
26 Sterling Corporation	0	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	60,000
Subtotal, Fundraising	\$0	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$60,000
27 Misc./Contingency	\$1,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$91,000
Total, Operations Budget	\$64,500	\$220,155	\$330,575	\$209,255	\$222,405	\$276,905	\$86,325	\$1,400,120
Paid Media Budget								
Direct Mail					150,000	150,000		300,000
28 Direct Mail								
Subtotal, Mail	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$150,000	\$150,000	\$0	\$300,000
Campaign Media (recommended)								
29 Television (4120 TRPs)					240,785	361,177		601,962
30 Cable (2050 TRPs)					123,303	184,955		308,258
31 Radio (2425 TRPs)					210,000	315,000		525,000
32 Online Advertising				25,000	50,000	100,000		175,000
33 Production					130,000	130,000		260,000
Subtotal, Campaign Media	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$25,000	\$754,088	\$1,091,132	\$0	\$1,870,220
Subtotal, Paid Media	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$25,000	\$904,088	\$1,241,132	\$0	\$2,170,220
Total Budget	\$64,500	\$220,155	\$330,575	\$234,255	\$1,126,493	\$1,518,037	\$86,325	\$3,570,340

CONFIDENTIAL

National Organization for Marriage New Jersey Budget
 2009 Election and Lame Duck Session
 Draft 2 - August 1, 2009

BASE BUDGET	Budget			
	September	October	November	Total
Office/Administration				
Phone/Fax/Misc.	500	500	500	1,500
Shipping/Printing/Copies	500	500	500	1,500
Travel	3,000	3,000	3,000	9,000
<i>Subtotal, Office</i>	\$4,000	\$4,000	\$4,000	\$12,000
Voter Research				
Baseline Survey	25,000			25,000
<i>Subtotal, Research</i>	\$25,000	\$0	\$0	\$25,000
Grassroots				
Robo Calls	40,000	30,000	30,000	100,000
Voter File Match/Enhancement	25,000			25,000
Website	20,000			20,000
<i>Subtotal, Grassroots</i>	\$85,000	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$145,000
Earned Media				
Conferences/Ed Boards				0
<i>Subtotal, Earned Media</i>	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Legal	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$7,500
Accounting	\$2,500	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$12,500
Fundraising				
Consultant				0
<i>Subtotal, Fundraising</i>	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Misc./Contingency	\$1,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$21,000
Total, Operations Budget	\$120,000	\$51,500	\$51,500	\$223,000
PAC Contributions/Indep. Expend				
Legislative races	50,000	0	0	50,000
Governor's race	150,000		0	150,000
<i>Subtotal, PAC Contributions</i>	\$200,000	\$0	\$0	\$200,000
Paid Media Budget				
Direct Mail				
Direct Mail	150,000	50,000	50,000	250,000
<i>Subtotal, Mail</i>	\$0	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$100,000
Campaign Media				
Television	0	0	0	0
Cable		325,000	325,000	650,000
Radio		100,000	100,000	200,000
Phone Banking		40,000	40,000	80,000
Online Advertising/Recruitment	35,000	35,000	35,000	105,000
Production		25,000	25,000	50,000
<i>Subtotal, Campaign Media</i>	\$0	\$525,000	\$525,000	\$1,055,000
<i>Subtotal, Paid Media</i>	\$200,000	\$575,000	\$575,000	\$1,385,000
Total Budget	\$320,000	\$626,500	\$626,500	\$1,608,000

